

Table 8: Population and Program Adequacy

POPULATION	PROGRAM ADEQUACY		NO	TOTAL	RATIO
	YES				
Nonrural	25		5	30	5.0:1
Rural	32		30	62	1.1:1
TOTAL	57		35	92	1.6:1
chi-square (observed) = 8.632			chi-square (corrected) = 7.337*		
* p < .01					

Table 9: Population and Service Availability

POPULATION	SERVICES		TOTAL	RATIO
	1.24	>1.29		
Nonrural	26	4	30	6.5:1
Rural	31	32	63	1.0:1
TOTAL	57	36	93	1.6:1
chi-square (observed) = 12.021		chi-square (corrected) = 10.494*		
* p < .01				

THE STRUCTURE OF DEMOCRATIC COMMUNICATIONS

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Democratic Communications offer the practical, everyday solution to the problem of alienation. Alienation is located in those social relations which systematically distort communication rather than in purely religious or intellectual life. Five such distorting relationships are mentioned. The solution to alienation set forth here posits a system of communication which is a) information rich, b) interaction rich, and c) oriented to the constitution of a public sphere. Several theoretical domains are used to ground this presentation among which are the Marxian theory of alienation, information theory, cybernetics theory, systems theory and communications theory. The more disorganized a system is, the more important it is that the communications media be organized democratically in order to maximize the search for quality variety.

One of the most interesting parts in Wiener's Cybernetics is the discussion on "Time series, information, and communication," in which he specifies that a certain amount of information is the negative of the quantity usually defined as entropy in similar situation...Take an issue of the New York Times, the book on Cybernetics, and an equal weight of scrap paper. Do they have the same entropy? According to the usual physical definition, the answer is "yes." But for an intelligent reader, the amount of information contained

in these three bunches of paper is very different.

-- Brillouin

Communication, Culture and Alienation

It must be said at the beginning that the central premise made here is that all sources of human alienation reside in concretely existing social relations. A solution to human alienation requires radical transformations of those social relations. This view stands against more ancient and more accepted understandings that alienation is inevitable, or that it involves a separation from God or, in more recent times, a failure to know fully the nature and richness of objectively existing physical reality.

The position taken here then is that only humans can be alienated and that from which they are alienated is the process by which distinctly human social life worlds are constituted. A second grounding premise is that social life worlds exist as a result of human activity. The human activity central to the constitution of social life is shared, intentional, constrained, patterned symbolic interaction. Any social form which excludes people, in part or in whole, from shared participation in that symbolic activity which generates social life thereby alienates people to the same degree from the human process.

In all human history, there are four major language systems which are used to create social relations -- including family relations, work relations, communal relations, political and cultural relations. These four include the voice, the body, cosmetics and clothing as well as complex runs of behavior.² These four language systems are the media which people in history have developed to define/call forth religious occasions, work relations, state institutions, as well as whole networks of health, play and schooling relations.

There are eight or so variables one can control in those sound plosives we call voice which give us an amazingly wide range of sounds with which we can create the most subtle and complex forms of social life. Frequency, volume, meter, timbre, location, slope, and timing all provide a multi-trillion information bit

inventory which we could, in an unalienated situation, use to create the most wondrous varieties of play, art, science, song, therapy or love. In conjunction with the languages of face, hands and posture we can say things never before said - if we have the opportunity to participate in symbolic process central to the production of therapy, love, music or play.³

And there is so much that may be said with cosmetics and clothing - what we are doing, who we are, how we feel; whether this is a funeral or a formal is excluded from the symbolic process -- all can be signaled by a turn of the head, a wave of the hand or a curl of the lip. And one should not forget that a complex series of activities enacted by an individual or a group can be read out just as a book or a song can be interpreted. The dance is one such line of physical activity with which meaning is constituted and can come to be shared. Ballet and mime can tell engrossing stories about sexual need, gender relations, political conflict or religious agony.

In interactionally rich social occasions, these media can be used to create social self, social status, social institutions and whole societies. In interactionally barren situations people are struck dumb, are bored and are boring. . . They lose whatever potential they have to be or become human. They act as dispirited objects; characters out of the novels of Ionesco, Kesey or Camus, out of the paintings of Daumier or Tooker, out of the music of the Clash or the Sex Pistols. For such persons, the assumptions of a stringent physical or psychological determinism may obtain. On the other hand, when people have a secure and democratic relationship to the means to produce meaning, knowledge and wisdom, they act in ways not possible in the simple models of cause and effect, prediction and probability, necessity and need which are said to model the animal world.

In modern times, new media have been developed which may complement or which may supplant those media over which one has personal control. Voice, clothing, body, and behavior can be eliminated as language media. With the advent of movable type, electronic technology, photography and cinema, laser and microprocessor technology, it is possible to go organize media as to

still the human voice. Clothing and cosmetics can be eliminated as symbolic systems. The body can be disciplined in the class room or the market place to say nothing. The cycles of behavior through which one lives out one's hopes and/or anxieties can be lost in the impersonality of work and religion.

The most important point I want to make in this section is that language systems can be organized to create a rich information and interactional field within which the uniquely human labor of reality constitution may transpire or the media may be organized to exclude, restrict and produce patterned activity in non-human modalities. Whether such activity is human activity or merely economic/political (activity stripped) of its human character is an empirical question. Not all patterned activity of Homo sapiens is human -- not at all. The way in which information systems are organized determines whether social life worlds emerge. For that to happen, personal and shared control of the medium is necessary whether it is a single piece of clothing or an entire television network. Only through democratically organized media is human life possible. In this historical epoch the solution to alienation centers around the question of who controls the computer, the camera, the transceiver, in a word, the knowledge process.

In other times control of land, of capital, of the work process, of the ballot and of the surplus value produced was centrally important to the understanding of alienation on human terms. In the past, alienation centered around exploitation -- the alienation of property, wealth and material resources from those who produce them. Even so, voice, body and clothing were individually owned and collectively used. The same cannot be said of the media in mass society. For much of the world exploitation in economic relations continues to be the central source of alienation - of poverty, despair, powerless rage and loss of hope. But more is needed than material wealth to end alienation. That lesson is clear in the rich, capitalist countries and is beginning to be clearly established in the developing socialist countries. Material resources are the beginning but not the end of a solution to human alienation.

Systematically Distorted Communication

In advanced capitalist societies, there are five major power relationships which systematically distort communication. The private/non-collective control over the news media tends to reinforce these structures of domination. While the distortions of the knowledge process vary from society to society and take special forms in military dictatorships or in bureaucratically organized socialist nations, in general, the major sources of distorted communications include class privilege, gender preference, racial discrimination, age grade exclusion, and a division of labor which awards authority to a relatively few and mandates compliance to a large majority. What follows is a brief and well-known treatment of how each of these five structures distorts communication and alienates the dominated group from the process of creating the symbolic universe in which they must live out their lives.

While elitist control over voice, body, dress or behavior is difficult, in class organized societies it is entirely possible for a few thousand people to own the electronic and mechanical means to produce meaning. In the United States, Australia, Britain, France, Germany and other capitalist countries, the trend is toward concentration of ownership of newspapers, television stations, radio, and computer based information systems. These systems are organized for the mass diffusion of messages rather than for democratic communication.

The major source of alienated communication in the wealthy capitalist countries is class relations. The private control of the means to produce meaning give a class elite control over the process by which issues are defined, by which economic theories are celebrated and by which conservative policies on inflation, health care, crime, unemployment and other social problems are pushed forward. In the United States media, socialist failures are magnified by privately owned media and socialist successes are passed over. At the same time, capitalist successes are proclaimed in the news, in the classroom and in the cinema. The failings of the capitalist systems are attributed to individual failings, racial inferiorities or to greedy workers, lazy welfare mothers and to the odd psychopath. Apart from the university

lecture, there are few media which give a fair and balanced analysis of different social formations. The mass format of electronic and print media is not only interactively distorted but is also information poor. A democratic communication system must be both interactively rich and information rich. Adequate, accurate, reliable, complete, timely, and comprehensible information organized in an interactively rich format is necessary for unalienated human societies. In capitalist societies, the news media are used more to produce audiences which, in turn, are sold as commodity to help merchants dispose of surplus, high-profit, high-energy, capital-intensive products rather than for the democratic constitution of social life.

In the factory, store, shop and office, the structure of class relations systematically distorts communication. Workers, having sold their labor power to the employer, also sell their voice. What may be said, to whom one may talk, in what kind of works one may express thoughts, and how often one may speak -- all these are part of the package sold to the employer when one takes wages and salary. Ward's forbids its employees from talking to each other about personal life; McDonald's insists that its counter people say exactly the same thing to every customer in every city. All corporations forbid their employees from warning the public about the criminal activity in which the corporation is involved. Employees must learn to speak in the disjointed, impersonal language of business, science or mathematics. Class relations suborn both personal and mechanical media to the task of producing and concentrating wealth.

Gender relations also distort communication possibilities. When men talk, people listen; when women talk, people do not listen. In politics, in church, in academia, in family and at work, what women say and do are not valued as much as what men say and do. Apart from the substantive content of the message; apart from its merits or its cogency, what women as a category say carries less weight than what men say. When women do work for wages, their status in the family knowledge constitutive process improves and their control over the meaning process is better but still not equitable. The data of gender discrimination in professional occupa-

tions, in science, art, music, math, and politics clearly say that women do not have full access to the vocal, print, or electronic symbol systems used in most societies.

The severity of racial or age-grade distortions in access, use and response to symbolic activity of Black, of Chicano or of age-grade categories is great and continues in even the most liberal capitalist societies. The struggle of Black people to recapture their own institutions and their own cultural processes in America are well known. From the earliest days of the nation, brutal and systematic efforts to exclude Blacks from political, religious, academic participation and to exploit Blacks in economic life are well-known. The same degree of documentation is not available for age-grade distortions or of the structure of bureaucratic authority but one realizes immediately that the same analysis can be made and documented from personal and collective experience.

While there has been some progress to put an end to all five structures which distort communicative relations, recent data suggest that progress has halted and, perhaps, reversed in all five domains. Those optimistic forecasts which say that the new information technology will transform these ancient inequalities have not been validated (see Toffler, 1980). If anything, the increased concentration of wealth and class privilege within capitalist societies has been aided by differential control of the media. The call by the Unaligned Nations for a new international information order is underwritten by the increasing political and economic inequality between nations in the Northern hemisphere and those in the Southern.

Women, Blacks, workers and senior citizens in the United States have all assembled some moral, economic and legal power to retain and recapture control over the communication process, the knowledge process and the political process but their successes must not be overestimated. Vast power, wealth and social honor still rest in the hands of a small percentage of persons and a shrinking number of multinational corporations (MNC). Compared to the MNCs, the power and wealth of even the greatest nation-state in the capitalistic bloc is small. As powerful and rich as are the Arab oil states, a few

banking groups can crush them. The battle for democratic forms has not been won -- the gains only to be consolidated; the benefits of social justice only to be extended to a few isolated groups. There is much still to do in changing all five structures of domination.

Information-Rich Communications

There are four kinds of knowledge which must be constituted in an interactionally rich communication system if a society is to be reproducing itself as a self-directed, self-organizing, self-repairing, self-controlling society.⁴ These forms of knowledge include first positive knowledge about how the society actually works, about how it is related to relevant sectors of its environment, about its structural flaws and about changes in its relevant environment. If a society has this kind of positive knowledge, it can be constituted as an ultrastable cybernetic system matched to its environment and competent to transfer order from environment without destruction of that environment upon which the system depends.⁵ Economics, politics, sociology, anthropology and history are the knowledge generating disciplines which offer information on how a society actually works. How successfully it works is another question.

A second kind of knowledge which a society must produce is hermeneutical knowledge. This is knowledge about how intersubjective understanding is possible, how shared social life worlds are created by intending human subjects, when misunderstandings exist and how they arise and how to repair unconnected meaning systems, distorted cultural processes and psychopathogenic relationships. Epistemology, phenomenology, socio-linguistics, symbolic interactional theory, semantics, semiotics, and ethnomethodology are just a few of the knowledge-producing disciplines which try to produce this kind of knowledge at the level of a socio-cultural system. Psychology, psychiatry and some religious specialities offer information about inner-subjective states and distorted understanding of individuals.

A third kind of knowledge necessary to reproduce existing social institutions and social relations is ideological knowledge. While the first two kinds of knowledge may be properly conceived to be theory and are

necessary to a rational society, ideology is also necessary. Central to the constitution of ideology is uncritical belief, naive acceptance, emotionally committed allegiance, open and ready trust, and a certain readiness to repress those who do not believe, who will not trust, who are cynical or manipulative. Most liberal analyses discount, inappropriately, the importance of ideology as a basis of a decent society. The information sectors which constitute this kind of knowledge include politicians, priests, most teachers, police, and most workers in cultural life; musicians, singers, actors, writers, counselors, lawyers, judges, social workers, novelists and of course parents-as-parents.

A fourth kind of knowledge necessary to produce (rather than reproduce) society is critical, emancipatory knowledge. Information about the failings of a social form, about alternative social relations, about new ways to rear children or heal anxieties, about things which do not yet exist, and about how to subvert the existing order are the kinds of knowledge necessary to human emancipation from existing social forms. It is not enough to a self-repairing society to have positive knowledge about how it actually works, to understand perfectly the intentions of a master or boss, or to believe completely in one's leaders and their commands. To be fully human, a person and a society must have produced, stored and quickly retrieve information about alternatives; alternative family relations, alternative modes of sexuality, alternative food, energy and housing sources as well as alternative healing and helping processes. New language systems, new words, new institutions must be developed and tested against changes in the environment else the second law of thermodynamics obtains and the society tends to entropy -- as have so many before.

The specialists who produce emancipatory knowledge range from the clown, the fool and jokester to the most advanced futurologists in corporate and military think tanks. Prophets produce emancipatory knowledge while priests reproduce ideology. Teachers reproduce existing social relations while revolutionaries from Lenin to Guevara produce new ideas about how to subvert existing structures of power and to institute new ones. In a society with structural inadequacies and with bad

politics, emancipatory knowledge comes with more from the underground than from the established respectable knowledge-constitutive institutions.

Only the measures of alienation give us guidance on when to turn from ideological knowledge to emancipatory knowledge: crime, depression, suicide, infant mortality rates, divorce and bankruptcy rates all bespeak alienated social relations in school, work, family and politics as well as church, state and market.

The media controlled by those who benefit from the reproduction of inequality carefully exclude emancipatory knowledge from the news and analysis. Instead the columns and the segments in newscasts are filled with social opinion. Social opinion includes an information set which tends to reproduce existing arrangements (Young, 1981). A democratically oriented society must use its media to create public opinion. In turn, that public opinion must be incorporated in the political process in significantly consistent ways else a public sphere cannot be said to exist. The generation of post hoc consensus for policies after the fact cannot be called democratic politics (Young, 1981).

False Politics

When the indices of social collapse increase at increasing rates, that is the time when emancipatory knowledge takes precedence over ideological knowledge. Yet it is precisely the time when the instruments of social control -- army, police, press -- are deployed by the ideologues to suppress the production of emancipatory knowledge. Under these conditions, the elements of bourgeois freedom are essential to all social formations -- capitalist and socialist alike. No class or party is a repository of all social wisdom. Nor do the arguments about time or about position justify nondemocratic procedures in the production of political or ideological culture. While an inner circle may quickly produce a policy, unless it speaks to the ultra-stability of the entire society, it is merely a false loop in the decisionmaking process and must be done again. The transfer of the costs for dealing with a problem to another part of the population creates a cycle of false politics which do not end until system and environment are in ultrastable and harmonious equilibrium.

As a case in point, one may consider the Reagan policy to transfer the fiscal crisis of the state to workers, the elderly and the unemployed in order to generate funds to rebuild the economy and to protect the position of United States based corporations in the world economy with a strong military establishment. The policy does transfer capital to private industry and does help obtain markets and raw materials for the transnational corporation. However, unemployment and health costs must be absorbed somewhere in the system. If it is to be the family unit, then the family unit cannot absorb the surplus production of capitalist factories. This loss in real disposable income erodes the tax bases and the political legitimacy of the state while a variety of crime increases. A political process which answers to the needs of capital and systematically discounts family, community and personal needs of a society creates long range political problems which can, in turn, transform into rebellion, fascism, wars of political liberation or into destructive economic warfare.

A false politics is one which answers to the short term needs of a privileged class but avoids responsive change on behalf of the whole society. If the fate of the five percent of the world which enjoys the benefits of such politics were unconnected to the fate of the unemployed, to the fate of the third world or of the passive masses, then such a politics would suffice. However, successful such politics were yesterday, they represent a false politics today. As the world grows more connected by economics, by transport, by electronic media and by political treaties, an authentically democratic politics grows daily more necessary. Basic to democratic politics is a democratically organized communication system utilizing every technical capacity or electronic, photonic, and holographic media: speed, storage, interactivity, and computational capacities in order to produce and meet the vast informational needs of a connected world society. An information-rich society is one in which all four kinds of knowledge are continuously produced, continuously available to all sectors of the population and continuously balanced against each other to produce a society located in its own history. Authentic politics is that politics which is organized. Such a politics requires that symbol

systems -- the media -- be used for the constitution of a public sphere. We will return to this point in the last section of the paper.

Interaction Rich Communication Systems

Returning to an earlier theme, one must keep in mind that social life worlds are produced by intending subjects. If a person or any set of persons are to be or become human, they must take part in the symbolic work out of which social relations emerge. Social reality does not exist apart from that symbolic work. It is the nature of symbolic work that it cannot be done by solitary individuals. All information systems require encoding and decoding procedures. All communication requires speakers and hearers. Speaking is a subjective activity -- but so is hearing. All this boils down to the fact that the construction of social life is, must be, collective. Persons excluded from such activity do not live in the same symbolic framework of those who do participate. Such excluded persons cannot be said to be friends, parents, citizens or Catholics. Mass media with its unidirectional, isolated, and narrowly focused and privately controlled format do not answer to the communication needs of a society for the shared constitution of the forms of knowledge produced above or for the forms of social life patterned by that knowledge. There is embedded in this statement a Marxist view of the knowledge process. The forms of authentic social knowledge, in this view, do not arise from objective methods of social science disseminated by lecture, books, documentaries, and journals but rather by intersubjective participation in creating social life worlds. One can learn a bit about Eskimo life or about bureaucratic life from print or from film but creative participation in the production process is necessary for authentic knowledge.

An ultrastable society must organize its media as social media rather than as mass media. Mass media, mass sports, mass religion and mass education are hostile to the human enterprise. While media in a massified format can divert people, can entertain them, can persuade them to buy or to vote in this way or that, massified media cannot produce the forms of social knowledge needed to reproduce and to produce new social life.

The necessity for removing any structure which interferes with interaction derives from Ashby's law of requisite variety (1968). Well organized systems contain enough variety within their information storage facilities (memories, plans, libraries and rules) to cope with any new event in the environment which threatens to interfere with the process by which order in the environment is converted into order in the system -- and thus survive. The structures of class, racial or gender inequality present themselves as constraints in the search for quality variety, the evaluation of various options, the incorporation of selected options and the collective benefits from such variety.

An interactively rich communications system has such characteristics as will promote the search for quality variety since, in Ashby's words, only variety can destroy variety. This means that when there is a significant change in the structure of a system or in the relevant sectors of the environment from which a system draws resources, then change must occur in order to regain a balance between system and environment. If the environment cannot be pacified, the system must be. If workers cannot be pacified, then factories must change; if students will not be pacified, then the university must change; if the third world will not tolerate exploitation, then the first world must change else both collapse.

We can suggest some characteristics of communications media organized to promote the quest for the best ways to resolve issues. The first and most general characteristic is that it must be democratically organized. Any class, racial, national or gender structure which discounts information about failings in the factory, home, classroom or neighborhood artificially reduces the pool of options from which to form political policy. Any process which dismisses ideas from women or workers about how to cope with failure dangerously cripples the political process. Any decision making system which excludes critique of policy programs blinds itself to future sources of system distress. Any program of issue resolution which excludes the very people who must implement the solution is a program which courts failure. All of the above provide an unanswerable demand for democratically organized communication in the creation of public policy.

If democracy maximizes ultrastability of a society, and if the electronic media are essential to binding large populations together, then electronic media must be democratically organized. First, every individual in the population must have direct access to all other individuals in order to know their needs. There are several collecting formats which provide each person access to all others. Plato IV at Urbana, Minerva at Columbia and the interaction rules of C.B. radio all offer prototypes of democratic access.

Second, every person must have access to those who possess relevant background knowledge. A society which secrets information from its citizens impairs democracy. In the United States, the history of women, Blacks, workers and socialists is hidden and all the progressive ideas generated by these oppressed groups are excluded as well from the search for quality variety. Information about the operation of a corporation doing business with the public, about foreign policy or about quality of life variables in the society must be in the public domain else there is no public domain. Every citizen must have access to persons in business, government and minority groups or the interaction matrix is inadequate.

Third, every citizen must have access to similarly situated persons at work, in school, in the marketplace or in the family. Rules which restrict similarly situated persons from talking to each other impose a false consciousness upon such persons. For example, a classroom so organized such that students cannot see each other's face or speak except to the professor renders students ignorant of each other's distress at a lecture point or an evaluation procedure. The same is true of workers in a factory, clerks in a store or consumers in a market. A political party provides an interactional format in which people can talk to each other but mass politics does not provide such a format. People listening to a president speak on a radio or a televised program are isolated from each other and cannot interact sufficiently to understand each other's responses -- if any.

Generally, there must be rich interaction across social cleavages. Isolation from each other renders one division in society indifferent to the fate of another. Since the fate of each part of the population is tied to

the fate of every part, such an interaction void renders each group less able to control its own destiny.

The interactional matrix between children and parents (parental surrogates) must be especially rich else the socialization process fails and a generation of savages is created. It is not enough for children to interact intensively with other children although such interaction is important. There must be cross-generational interaction else the transmission of culture fails and the reproduction of society suffers. So, too, patients in hospitals, asylums as well as prisoners and soldiers must be located in a carefully organized and exceedingly rich interaction system else therapy and rehabilitation cannot succeed.

In summary, a society is created by the symbolic interactivity of its members. To do the job well, the structure of interaction must provide continuous, intensive, reciprocal, and focused interaction. To do otherwise is to destroy the very process by which social reality is created.

It is well within the technical capacity of all forms of media from the voice to the holograph that they be orchestrated in an interactive format. Radio, television, newsprint can be collectively owned, collectively controlled and intercollectively used. It is possible to organize radio as a mass medium or as a social media. Commercial radio is organized as a mass medium while C.B. radio is organized as an interactive social medium. Film documentaries can be produced in an objective way with a film crew isolated from coalminers, factory workers, women or insurgents or they can be collectively produced with women and workers having a part in editing and screening decisions. There is nothing in the structure of a computer which says only the state, the government or a class elite may have access to its contents. There is something in elitist politics, class control or state preference which so shapes the format of such media. It is a mystification to label social constraints on interactive format as technical or natural constraints.

Only in an interactively rich symbolic environment comprised of the appropriate mix of social knowledge is it possible for self, society and human culture to develop. Any symbolic system devoted to the information needs of capital for accumulation or the state for

legitimation thereby detracts from the social process and is, in its own way, as subversive of a society as crime, poverty, terror, or famine. Consumerism is aided by advertising in a mass media format while advertising does produce markets from that mass of isolated viewers for the capitalist corporation but the larger, prior question is whether consumerism takes precedence over the knowledge process and over the social forms which could emerge from a different use of such media. Temporary consensus in political policies can be extracted from a massified set of separated viewers by means of the massified use of polls and surveys. The prior question is whether those policies speak to the whole social process or merely transfer the problem to another people or another generation.

It is clear that some of the channel capacity of the various media can be used for advertising and some for private purpose without compromising the social process. The interesting question is how long can a society survive when its media, its best media, are preoccupied to private purposes of class, ethnic, or state privilege. The answer is found in rates of social disorganization, rates of change in the larger environment, and, more importantly, rates of production of emancipatory knowledge.

Public Opinion, Public Policy and the Public Sphere

For most of the time for most societies, the various media may be usefully oriented to the production of social opinion -- that opinion which reproduces society and is oriented to ideological knowledge. Cherished beliefs, cherished traditions and cherished folkways are -- must be -- reproduced. It is proper and fitting that the interactive-rich media be used in school, church and family to inculcate a rather innocent and uncritical commitment to existing social forms.

However, sometimes social opinion is adequate to the survival needs of a society and a public sphere must be constituted to produce public opinion.⁸ In times of crisis, or when the economic and political structures in a larger system following their own transformative laws produce a new international order, or when new technology offers better ways to rear children, heal the

ill or create politics, then established ways must be taken out of the social sphere where they are taken-for-granted and brought into a public sphere where they are subjected to a relentless critique. It is a painful process and it always reorients privileges, duties and rights but for an ultrastable society -- a society able to survive a crisis by self-reorganization -- a public sphere is essential.

At those times of crisis, it is necessary for the journalists, editors and directors of the various media to change from the production of ideological knowledge to the production of emancipatory knowledge. It does not suffice that a few professors in the university lecture on alternative political and economic, religious and familial, educational and therapeutic possibilities. An entire society must be involved -- a public sphere must be created. It does not suffice that surveys, polls, and samples of a mass of isolated individuals be made. Authentic public opinion requires an interactively rich format and an informationally rich load of emancipatory knowledge. To conflate mass opinion with public opinion is as grievous a fraud as to use patriotism to discourage public discussion¹⁰ on war, welfare, crime, inflation or women's rights.

Mass opinion, based on individual needs, will not lead to policies congenial to the general need. Social opinion, oriented to old ways of doing things will not produce policies leading to new ways of doing things. Public opinion, based on emancipatory knowledge leads to the quest for quality variety. The trouble and turmoil natural to the public sphere is preferable to the violence and destruction natural to rebellion, revolution or the sullen, persistent subversion of the alienated worker, citizen, student, or bureaucrat. The cost of a poorly designed public sphere in human life, the harm to the environment, the waste of property and resources in warfare are high costs to pay for systematically distorted, poorly utilized media.

There is nothing in nature, nothing in science and nothing in social philosophy which requires any given society be reproduced. There have been 3000 to 5000 distinct social life worlds each with their own culture in human history of which several hundred now exist. And, there will be several thousand more evolve over the

long and endless life of the good earth. The central question is whether we can design a democratic communications which will enlarge praxis, promote community, maximize peace, advance social justice, respect the physical environment or whether we will continue to reproduce social inequality between rich and poor nations; rich and poor businesses; rich and poor classes; whether we use the media to reproduce privileged gender, ethnic, or age groups and in the same moment reproduce the dangerous instabilities that these bring. A decent and rational society requires the media organized for democratic communication. Communication is not democratic nor is it communication unless it is informationally and interactively rich.

The technology for a democratic communication exists. The resources to assemble a democratic communication exists. The political necessity for a democratic communication increases continuously. Only private ownership and/or party control of the media interferes with democratically organized communication. To date communications technology has not lived up to its potential for democracy. Since Gutenberg, since Marconi, since the Luminiere brothers, since Lee DeForest and Graham Bell, war, famine, poverty and inequality as well as the degradation of the environment have been increased by the highly privileged use of the media. A media revolution is necessary to reverse and to repair the harm done to the human project by existing forms of media use. With or without violence, a democratic use of the media must replace the oppressive and/or private use of radio, television, and other media by the capitalist class and by the party elite...else the human condition continues to deteriorate.

The highest moral value for women is not justice, as it is for men, but care. Kohlberg's six stages do trace the development of the concept of justice; but -- there is more to morality than justice. There is mercy. There is care -- what Erik Erikson, one of the giants in the field of developmental psychology, has called the great adult strength. "Morality for a woman is being

responsible to -- being responsive to -- oneself and others; as opposed to doing one's duty, fulfilling one's obligations. Instead of the golden rule, the injunction to women is to take care of people and to try to avoid hurting people."

Helen Gilligan

FOOTNOTES

1. There is some evidence that some aspects of human society do not emerge from purely symbolic activity. It is entirely possible that dominance, territoriality, aggression and sexual activity are related to body states. For example, human beings emit odors (pheromones) as signal systems which pattern behavior in non-cognitive ways. Most social activity is organized by voiced and embodied symbols collectively constituted, however.
2. Societies have also used whistling, smoke signals, knottings, horns, drums, bells and stones to create mutual understandings. One of my students reports the use of farting in British dockyards to express opinions to each other about work assignments while standing in silent work formation.
3. There are a hundred thousand permutations of facial configurations each of which can be assigned meaning. There are over 1000 discernible frequencies which the ear can hear. There are ten or so locations from which voice can be centered from the nose to the chest to the front of the mouth. There are dozens of levels of sound volume which a person can control. When all these are combined with all other sounding factors in all possible permutations of all possible symbol making systems, the permutations are huge indeed. The nose is said to be even more sensitive to chemicals than the ear to sound. Light waves, of course, are so frequent that thousands of times as much information

can be packed per unit time in a light wave than in sound, electronic or chemical configurations.

4. Habermas, in Knowledge and Human Interests, identifies three such forms. I add ideological to his three.
5. See Boulding (1956), Bertalanffy (1968), Weiner (1968), and Buckley (1968) for basic instruction on systems theory, cybernetics and information. Briefly, all systems must draw order from their environment if they are to survive as thermodynamic systems. To do this, a system must be matched to its environment. If not, information about mismatch must be available to the system. If it is, a system can be self-directed -- that is, it can be cybernetically organized. Such systems are said to be ultra-stable and while so organized are irreversible thermodynamic entities.
6. See Cadwallader (1968) and Maruyama (1968) for the notion of change in cybernetic systems and the notion of ultra-stability.
7. See Schrodinger (1968) and Miller (1968) for a discussion of the nature of information and how information is related to order and entropy.
8. See Habermas (1979) for a discussion of the concept of a public sphere.
9. Do see Ashby (1968) for a convincing argument on the necessity of variety for ultra-stable thermodynamic systems.
10. See T.R. Young (1981) on the difference between public opinion, social opinion and mass opinion.

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PROBLEMS OF MALE SEX ROLE READERS

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This paper examines five of the six male sex role anthologies currently available. They potentially serve an important function by creating an image of what is important in the male sex role literature. Unfortunately, they create a limited view of the literature. A content analysis was carried out along two dimensions: 1) the type of data utilized and 2) the substantive issues addressed. Six types of data categories emerged. The majority of articles utilized an essay format with few readings based on research literature or original data. Substantive issues were grouped into thirteen categories. Gaps in the range of topics and coverage within topics are discussed. The anthologies create an inaccurate image of male sex role literature as largely personal, non-empirical, limited in scope and somewhat dated.

Introduction

A little over ten years ago, reviewing Lopata's *Occupation Housewife*, Stoll wrote, "What of their husbands? Reading about what these women think about, worry about and actually do during the day, I am struck by how little sociology has told me about men. There are studies of men's organizations, their mobility patterns, their frequency of orgasm, but little information about the men I actually see every day" (1972:421). Since Stoll wrote that review there has been a growing interest in studying what it means to be male. Early books by